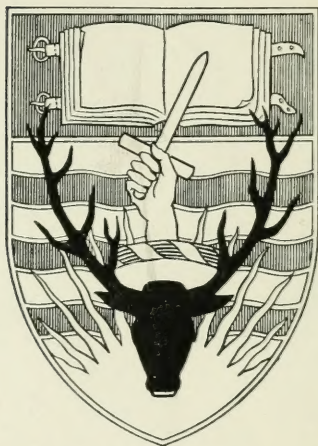


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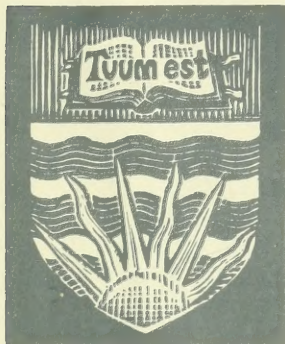
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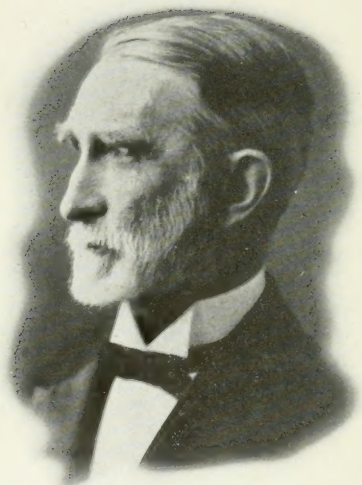
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HON. JOSIAH WOOD
M.A., D.C.L.

THE JOSIAH WOOD LECTURES, 1926

CITIZENSHIP

By
RT. HON. SIR GEORGE E. FOSTER
G.C.M.G.
Member of the Canadian Senate



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JOSIAH WOOD LECTURESHIP

The following comprises the main portion of the deed of gift from the Honourable Josiah Wood, D.C.L., dated May 28, 1925.

As we grow older there is a danger of looking back on our early days and considering them much better than the present; but even the optimistic will admit that in recent years spiritual and moral progress has not kept pace with material advancement.

Since the infirmities of my advancing years have obliged me to live retired at my home in Sackville, and I have been largely confined to the house, with leisure to read the papers, I have been surprised at the wrongdoing and crimes that have been almost daily recorded in them. I have been impressed with the fact that the stern integrity of our fathers has been gradually weakened, and in many cases has entirely disappeared. Occupations and pleasures which, in their days, would have been regarded as wrong are without hesitation indulged in. In business, profit is the first consideration, and little thought is given to the moral character of the transactions. Indeed wilful fraud, and deliberate crime have been frequently discovered and exposed.

When I was a member of the Canadian Senate I did not draw all the money to which I was legally

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entitled. I did not then intend that it should be taken from the public treasury. During my retirement, however, I have felt a desire to do something with this money which would have a tendency to lessen evil, and to benefit society generally. In this way it seemed possible to make this money practically useful. Upon mature reflection it has appeared to me that to establish a foundation for a lecture course in connection with Mount Allison University at Sackville will meet my views. The principal is to be invested and to be kept invested in securities which are at the time legal investments for trust funds in the Province of New Brunswick. The income is to be appropriated, partly as an honorarium for one or more lectures each year, and partly in the printing and distribution of the lectures. The lectures shall be delivered by men of high standing and exceptional ability. The lecturer shall be free to deal with his subject as he thinks best, keeping in mind the fundamental idea for which this foundation is established, namely, to impress on our students and citizens generally the absolute necessity of honesty and honour, of integrity and truthfulness, of an altruistic public spirit, of loyalty to King and Country and of reverence for God; in short, of all those virtues which have long been recognized as the very basis of the highest type of citizenship. I desire that a copy of the lectures be given to each student and Professor in the University and a copy be sent free to every University library in Canada. Other copies may be sold, in so far as there is a demand for them.

My desire is to assist in carrying out the purpose which the late Charles F. Allison had in mind in

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founding an Educational Institution in Sackville. These lectures are, therefore, always to be delivered in connection with the Foundation there bearing his name. The President of the University with the Treasurer of the Board of Regents and one other appointed each year by the Regents shall be trustees who will be responsible for arranging the lectures year by year and carrying out the terms of this bequest. This trust shall be known as the Josiah Wood Lectureship.

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R. WOOD is impressed with the apparent laxity of morals and depreciation of character of the present day in comparison with the not-long-distant Past. He notes the record of wrong-doing and crimes and the casting aside of the old-time conventions of family and religious life. He sees the stern integrity of our fathers weakened or disappearing, and many questionable forms of pleasures, then forbidden, now widely indulged in. In business, profits are becoming the prevailing consideration; the morals of the transaction receive secondary consideration, while wilful fraud and deliberate crime are becoming increasingly frequent in private and public life. Musing on these things in the late twilight of life, our founder ponders over the remedy, and what he personally can do to provide some part thereof. The money, which legally belonged to him as increased senatorial

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sessional-indemnity, but which conscientious scruples had prevented him from drawing out of the Public Treasury for his own use, suggests a means, and he decides to invest it in this Lectureship. If his own eloquent tongue must for ever be silent, others can take up the burden, and utter in all coming generations a yearly appeal for individual and public righteousness,—adapting to the conditions of every generation the fundamental call for clean manhood, unselfish community service, unfailing and high patriotism, and willing loyalty to God and the Right. He desires to impress upon students and citizens generally the absolute necessity of maintaining a high code of personal honour and sterling integrity in individual character, an altruistic spirit of public, community service, and a vital reverence for God and Religion,—virtues long recognized as characteristic of the highest type of citizenship.

It falls to my lot to initiate this series of continuing yearly lectures to this institution, before a constituency of the choice youth of our Province, whose thoughts must influence and whose hands must largely fashion the future growth, development and efficiency of

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our Nation. To this audience to-day my voice is raised and my plea is made. And as each succeeding year abler hands lift high the torch, and more eloquent tongues sound the clear call to duty to the receptive and successive bands of ardent and hopeful youth assembled in this hall, who can fairly estimate the cumulative result? All honour to our founder! In no other way could there be raised a finer or more enduring monument to his memory, or a more lasting guarantee of immortality.

The appeal is made primarily to a select body of youths of both sexes, gathered from the Maritime Provinces mainly, who, as residents in and attendants upon Mount Allison University, are entering upon maturer years and advanced studies, are being introduced to wider fields of Nature, of Science and of Art, initiated into higher processes of intellectual, moral and spiritual activity, are *registering convictions, fashioning beliefs, evolving principles, forming habits, moulding character*, and building the foundation and framework of future lives into which will be woven the varied details of action and achievement. This is being carried on in a community of relationships where

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each individuality acts upon every other, and in a community of study and environment where expanding knowledge and ardour of pursuit in each warms and incites the whole to continuing and growing achievements. What a fruitful soil into which each year for all coming time may be dropped some seed-thoughts from riper experiences, gathered in broader fields of actual struggle and contact with the great problems of human life!

But whilst passing through the University the students are taught, guided, influenced in intimate ways by the staff,—in class, in personal relationships, and in character building. It follows that an appeal to the students to be most effective must attach to itself personal sympathetic action on the part of the staff. Working together as students and teachers for a given end in education and character building is a means to the best result. Apathy on the part of either is a retarding, destructive factor. The worst thing that could befall an institution of this kind would be that its staff should ignore its individual responsibility, or lose its personal, human touch with the student body.

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Again, the student body and staff are influenced by the environment of the social unit in which they are for the time being living, with whose members they contract acquaintances, and by whose intellectual and moral atmosphere they are directly affected. If in this community law and order are obeyed and enforced, the proper conventions of society observed, if the moral tone is correct and elevating, and culture and refinement prized and prevalent, the general effect is to support mightily the work of both staff and students. In proportion as these conditions are defective or lacking the best results are impossible. The appeal therefore is directed alike to students, staff and community.

The grounds for an appeal must be clearly stated and must be well established in fact. Confusion in statement or lack of sure foundation must both be avoided,—the latter particularly so. For this, then, we must get in touch with the motive thought of the founder of this Lectureship. He has lived an unusual span of life, enjoyed more than the usual opportunities for observation, has been equipped far beyond the average of the men of his time, and his theories of life and living have been

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tempered by a more than ordinary practical experience of affairs in many and diversified activities. He has been above all a man wise in his judgments and reasonable-minded. In the hours of reflection and retrospect, rendered possible by his removal from active life, he receives broadcasts of the world's doings from the press, notes their salient features, searches for their causes, and contrasts both with the conditions of his life experience. From his musings there emerge the following conclusions.

The wholesome restraints of home life are being thrown off, the authority of parents is secretly disregarded or openly defied, and the great fundamental institution of society, the family, is suffering violence.

The Bible remains on the shelf, but it is less frequently opened and little read; family prayers are no longer a general feature of family life; recognition of the Sabbath, as God's day, is being overlaid by irreverent holiday features; and there is a growing tendency to regard religious observance as old-fashioned and out of date. In these ways that vital essential of humanity—cultivation of the spiritual nature and its constant communion with

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humanity's God—is being slighted and ignored, and threatens to become buried beneath overlayings of the material and sensual.

Honest dealing of man with man, honest performance of public trusts, honest service for wages paid, regard for the essential conventions of society and respect for and obedience to constituted law and order are all suffering partial eclipse, and the area of obscuration appears to be waxing, rather than waning.

Crime is steadily increasing,—crime with violence, commercially organized and strongly equipped, defiant of authority, reckless of life, armed to the teeth, setting at nought all social laws and individual rights in its merciless quest of illicit gain. Security for life and property and the safe pursuit of happiness,—that perfected fruit of human development sought through all the ages,—is rudely and successfully challenged in this its century of supposed achievement.

These may be fairly taken as a brief summary of the founder's conclusions.

Are these conclusions justified? In making the comparison of then and now, must we not take account of changing conditions, the march

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of progress and the possibility of betterment? As to the family, is it not conceded that the old restraints were often unreasonably severe, their enforcement too arbitrary, and that the relative intelligence standard of children and parents has altered? As to the Sabbath, is it not true that its regime was often unreasonably strict and intolerably narrow, and that the Day itself was made unnaturally gloomy and forbidding; that, as regards dealings of man with man, they were often inhuman and arbitrary, and as between classes unjust, and so on and so forth?

We may be sure that our founder is too wise and too practical not to have noted these modifying factors and the necessity for liberalizing the old conditions. But I am sure also he had the thought that liberalization should not run to license, nor the laudable desire for improvement into a reckless demolition of the essential fabric.

In the main, therefore, I am bound to maintain that the conclusions reached by the founder were correctly drawn, and abundantly justify the action taken by him in instituting this Lectureship.

The Family, the Church and the State,—the

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three fundamental institutions of human civilization, the three great nurseries and guarantors of security and happiness are all menaced; from all three comes the call for championship, for defence, for the loyal service of all true knights and gentlewomen.

The family is the primal unit of civilization. It is established and sanctified by love; it is fenced around by security; in its sacred shelter children are born and tenderly nurtured; the virtues of obedience, unselfish service, wholesome discipline, respect for authority and helpful relationships are inculcated; good habits, cleanliness of life, regard for truth and respect for the rights of others are impressed upon the growing child. If to these are added a correct and healthy moral tone, and an insistent spiritual aspiration, what agency for human uplift and good citizenship could be more effective? How stimulating the "*esprit de corps*" of its members—all for each and each for all; how touching the sturdy family pride in keeping its good name, and in maintaining its place and pace in the community; how tender its solitudes, how secure its refuge from outward ills and hurts, how healing its multiplied and comforting ministrations,

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and how encouraging its commendations and its praise of mutual efforts made and successes attained! How satisfying its simple amusements and innocent pleasures, which leave no stain or sting behind! And what a source of tender memories, which time cannot efface or distance dim, whose subtle calls and soundless melodies are ever felt in our widest wanderings, and recall us to the purity, the innocence and the cleanliness of childhood days!

The institution of the Family is menaced from many sides. And first by the changes brought about through the sudden and wonderful facilities for communication and intercourse of all kinds. The corduroy road has become a macadamized highway. The slow ox team, the more quickly horse-drawn carriage have given place to the speedy, swift and comfortable automobile, doing easily its thirty miles an hour. The country and village home has been brought within a close proximity to the neighboring town and city with its multiplied and varied attractions. Before these came, the country home was the centre to which its members gravitated for social gatherings, simple home-amusements and community life. To these the local churches served as enlarge-

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ments and co-helpers. Everybody knew everybody else, and each contributed to the general fund. And all was carried on under wise parental oversight and wholesome home-restraint.

Social excitements were moderate and healthy, excesses were avoided, rest hours were adequate and refreshing, and innocent pleasures brought no after-penalties of exhaustion or remorse.

There was leisure also for reading and study and mental improvement in which the family circle, the school and the Church helpfully co-operated.

The effort called for from each to contribute his share to family and community life stimulated individual energies and capacity and thus reacted beneficially on the general culture and development of the community.

Rapid transit has greatly affected family life and the country home. The town and city attractions call loudly, are ready prepared and are within easy reach. The traverse is itself inviting and pleasurable, home restraints are temporarily absent, parental supervision suspended, and freedom of acquaintance unchecked. Temptation to risky entertainments,

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to chance intimacies, to over-indulgence and late hours is ever present, and is little counter-checked by the healthy, restraining force of home caution, influence and warning.

The occasional outing invites to greater frequency and quickly grows into a habit until home often becomes but a working place for as few work hours as possible, and a sleeping place for late comers in the early morning hours.

Under such circumstances home pleasures are eliminated, home duties become irksome, home restraints are weakened and parental authority wanes, even to extinction. The Home thus misses its great function and tends to become a ruined temple on whose altars the family vestal fires no longer burn.

In another way rapid transit affects both the Country and City Family. It draws upon those nomadic impulses and that *wanderlust*, remainders of which, in varying degrees, most people still possess. The automobile spirits away its voyagers to the distant resort for pleasure or amusement, and invites to long and late excursions, and to general outdoor gypsy life. And so the home and its homeliness, its saving and controlling influences

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recede in effectiveness and it becomes less and less an institution.

The intimate *entente* between parents and the junior members, and between these members themselves, which is essential to proper and healthy family functioning, tends to weakness and extinction. Separate interests grow up, confidences and intimate interchanges of thought and experience grow less and less, and an unhappy and disintegrated family results.

Further, the "movie" and the radio have grown to giant proportions. They attract and amuse, but they also teach. Their frequenters and devotees run into millions daily, and outstrip far our school and University attendance. Whilst all are in a measure purveyors of healthful and elevating influences in drama, in science, in story and song, they still in great part discuss problems and portray scenes which appeal to the lower passions and questionable tastes, and thus weaken and debase moral standards. These influences affect all classes but chiefly the young, and gradually they undermine the home ideals.

All this begets an expectancy and feverishness of mental and physical attitude, which

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detach youth from serious thoughts and steady action, and breed distaste for the quiet pleasures and necessary pursuits of home life. The craving for change and excitement becomes an appetite in satisfying which simpler and healthier tastes are gradually eliminated, and to which are sacrificed counsels of prudence and obligations of duty, the serious equipment for life's real work and the development of the higher intellectual and moral forces in the individual. In this free and unrestrained intercourse also, the more volatile and adventurous tend to overrule the more serious and cautious, for the time being uncontrolled and unassisted by the influence and example of age and experience. The time spent under parental guidance and the discipline of home surroundings grows less as the outside calls become more frequent until the family loses all its functions except the temporary bedding and boarding of its members.

These later days with their ubiquitous postmen and news vendors, the flooding products of the printing presses, the garish illustrations in newspapers and magazines, the stories of crime, the photographs of brutal criminals, the prurient recitals of evidence given in

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police and criminal courts, and the featuring and hero-izing of prize fighters, pugilists, burglars, robbers and murderers, the successful violation of law and a cynical contempt of authority, present a new peril to the home. As the sense of the value and sacredness of human life lowers and fades in the soldier, who daily faces the slaughter-fields of war, so the sense of the values of law and order, of honesty and uprightness, of purity and virtue, of right and wrong, of morality and religion, is blurred and obscured by this continuous and repeated picturing day by day and year by year of vice and viciousness. The effect on grown men and women is apparent in its matter-of-fact reception, the absence of answering reaction and antagonism in the recipient, the gradual acquiescence in its "matter of course," and increasing apathy to active measures to offset and repress. Adult society grows *blasé*, and becomes less and less inclined to take up arms against the evil. If this be the effect on the grown and matured, what must be its effect upon the immature, plastic, receptive minds of children, boys and girls, who are submitted to its daily impressions? On the mature its effects are

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gradual acquiescence, indifference, apathy and a lowering of the canons of morality and integrity. On the immature it goes farther and begets, first the disposition to admire the bold violater of law and decency, and eventually a sympathy with and a disposition to copy the model it admires.

The pure springs of innocence and guilelessness are defiled by the constant infusion of this prurient, poisonous, human garbage. What appals one is the seeming indifference of parents and teachers and preachers and the press to this vital and persistent menace, and the alarming and wide-open facilities allowed for its propagation. Society seems almost eager to sell pistols to its burglars and murderers, and knives to its assassins, and thus facilitate their efforts, and raises no efficient barrier against this easy and constant sluiceway for moral and mental garbage into the playgrounds and homes of innocence.

Equally marked have been the changes in attitude towards Religion and the Church.

The greatly increased absorption in business and the pursuit of wealth for its own sake, the tendency to use this wealth in selfish pleasure and indulgence, often running

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into excesses, which outrival in vileness the enormities of the closing period of the Roman Empire, and the tendency, on the part of the general public, to excuse such excesses especially when connected with persons of prominence of wealth and title, have greatly augmented the ranks of materialists, and weakened the spiritual forces and every-day, personal devotion to religious ideals.

In the home the Bible lies too often unopened, and family worship is neglected. The Sabbath day is more and more coming to be looked upon as a day for recreation, for family outings and receptions, for tennis and golf play, and so the Church loses its hold, and religious observance is discounted. It is apparent that this laxity on the part of adult members of the family reacts disastrously upon any attempt to inculcate sacred observances on the part of children, so quick to detect and profit by the failings of their elders.

Acute analysis and criticism of the old conception of the Bible itself, the gradually growing appreciation of the distinctive spheres of science and religion and of the role of the Bible in respect thereto, and the general spread of the knowledge of and belief in the part

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played by evolution, have weakened the conception of a purely anthropomorphic God, of a personal Devil, and of the Bible as a directly inspired revelation authoritative equally in respect to the physical and the spiritual universe, and brought the authenticity of miraculous interference with the order of nature under the white light of critical examination and reasonable judgments. In that period which intervenes between the exposure of wrong conceptions and untenable beliefs, and the reconstruction of both conceptions and beliefs upon purified and higher bases, the tendency is to confound the error in conception and structure with the vital essence of the belief itself. In this no-man's-land agnosticism, scepticism, and unbelief, theoretical and practical, find their feeding-grounds and wax powerful.

But it is just here that the truth must be held with a firm grasp, and the light turned on in all its intensity. That imperfect and human conceptions of what God is and how he acts have existed from the primal days is no proof that God does not exist; nor do the continual reconstructions of those tentative and dim ideals into more spiritual and correct ones

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destroy the immanence of the belief itself in a first cause and a Divine guidance in the Universe. Rather do these persistent and universal attempts to correct and purify the human ideals of the Divine prove the persistence and universality of the belief therein.

For always there has existed in humanity and, enthroned in our personal consciousness, there does still exist in each one of us, that indefinable something at war with the evil within and about us, which no science can either construct or demolish, which no material food can satisfy, and no perfection of body or brilliancy of mind can completely overlay, which claims spiritual kinship and demands to see God and enjoy communion with Him.

History recorded in Books, embalmed in tradition, revealed in the unfolding records of long-buried cities, impressed on the rock strata of ages incalculable in their long depositions, evolved from the dovetailed successions of higher from lower forms of life reaching back into the dim distances whose measurement defies the mathematician's art, or read in the innumerable systems of universes beyond universes, that constitute a whole whose limits no surveyor can set, whose constellations

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no telescope can reach, but whose co-ordinated immensities move with a nice precision,—all these rule blind chance out of creation, proclaim the existence of an infinite mind, force on us the conviction of a supreme first Cause, and tell us there is a God.

Personal conscience, a spiritual nature, the existence of God,—from these there is no escape. Prune away all misconceptions, extravagances, overgrowths and idolatries, yet these remain, and will perforce seek incarnation in personal conduct, in religious associations, and in the Great Institutions which embody the religious spirit and minister to spiritual life.

An idea lives only as it becomes concrete, clothes itself with appropriate expression, arms itself with efficient organs of activity and becomes in fact an institution. The spiritual nature of man is cultivable, and craves the sustenance and fortifications which association, and religious observance, and the teaching and nurture of an institution can give, and the Church in its widest sense is that Institution.

Its unit is the individual,—conscience endowed, spiritually minded, seeking further

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knowledge of and communion with God. To these personal units its ministrations are invaluable, if not essential.

To the family its service is vital, and to society it is an indispensable bulwark, for its essence is purity of thought, cleanliness of life, spirituality of conception, obedience to authority and reverence for things sacred.

The Church may be imperfect, subject to errors, prone to dogma, liable to formalism, marked with inconsistencies and hypocrisies, for it is operated by human instrumentality; but it has ever been and will continue to be a fundamental and saving institution without whose ministrations the individual, the family, society and the State would be badly off, if, indeed, they could even exist. On the other hand changes in world knowledge and world conditions, and in the personal attitude of men with regard to spiritual things, must be met by a changed attitude and action of the Church itself. The Church is no immovable entity, created perfect and unimprovable by Divine decree. Its hold on vital truths must never be relaxed, but equally it must throw off worn-out dogmas, rid itself of impossible beliefs, and have the courage to discard antiquated

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formulae and substitute for them clearness of expression on vital issues, to confess errors and gladly welcome reconstructed ideals, to think less of the non-essential and trivial in dogma, and to exalt and vivify the great basic truths of spiritual life.

To these two great fundamental institutions of human society I have to-night particularly solicited your thoughtful attention. The third, that of the State, I leave for my second lecture.

I have thus sought to embody the meditations of the founder of this Lectureship and to modify or reinforce them out of my own experience and observation. My main object has been to arrest thought and challenge consideration. The fatal defect of our era of galloping progress is its feverish and incessant activity, its absence or atrophy of quiet thought and subjective consideration. How few are the shut-in hours in which we commune with our better selves, ponder the deeper questions of conscience, character, the seekings and searchings of our spiritual natures, what we are making of ourselves, and whither, in the way of real development, we are tending! Do we seek or shun such hours?

What sustenance are we providing for the

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soul within us,—that intimate and indefinable mingling of the intellectual and spiritual which is at once the crowning excellence of humanity, and the guarantee of its ultimate salvation?

What are we doing, what are we absorbing in social intercourse, what are we pursuing in examination and research, what are we reading, what are we thinking, what habits are we forming, and of what characters are we laying the foundations and commencing the superstructure? What are our ideals and what are we doing to realize them?

If then so far I have succeeded in challenging your attention to the fundamental importance of these two great historic and persistent Institutions,—the Family and the Church,—and the vital necessity of their maintenance in essence and operation, and if furthermore I have been able to impress upon you the fact that both are menaced with changing conditions and attitudes of thought and action that tend to weaken and destroy their efficient functioning, I have succeeded measurably in achieving the object that the founder of this lecturship had in mind. For not until we have a due sense of the essential importance of these Institutions and a due appreciation

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of the fact that they are in peril, will we find the impelling motive for appeal and action in their support.

Let us consider, then, in what way these institutions of the Family and the Church, can be reinforced and how you, to whom this appeal is made, can co-operate in that work. It is obviously impossible to eliminate the automobile, the film, the radio and the wireless. These have come and they will remain, and in fact are but the forerunners of improved and added mechanism by which communications are to be multiplied and distances diminished between individuals, communities and nations. Nor can one be blind to the immense facility and power for good which are released thereby. The local tongue, eloquent of wisdom and truth, is multiplied a millionfold, and finds a nation-wide, even a world-wide audience. Music and song that delight and elevate and uplift are brought to the humblest homes and poorest of people. World travel by pictures and films are made possible to stay-at-homes of every country; and visualized geographical features, the faces of peoples, their manners and customs, the products and productive equipments,

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the scientific processes and mechanical devices of the world of humanity are made common in knowledge, in advantage and in usefulness. Ideas, information, discoveries, inventions, remedies, safety devices, disease preventives, health helps, economic suggestions, commercial intelligence, have ceased to be slow-footed, and now traverse the world with lightning wings. Astounding and absolutely incalculable have been their contribution to human entertainment, comfort and efficiency. We must welcome these aids to life and living, adapt ourselves to their helpful ministration, but we must allow neither ourselves nor our fundamental and saving Institutions to be swept away by them. Particularly must we raise an effectual and strong barrier against their insidious control of ourselves or their vitiation of our institutions. While these wonderful devices can be made to contribute very advantageously to our individual and family and Church life, they must not be allowed to usurp or overlay the essential functions of either. As servants under wise control they are helpful, but as masters and dictators, they are harmful and may become deadly. The tendency therefore to over-use of them

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and over-reliance upon them saps the independence and weakens the constructive self-development and natural and essential functioning of the individual, the family and the Church.

The automobile is an excellent device for necessary quick transit, and for seasonable social and family pleasure, but when its use tends to become a dominating factor, a craze, or an instrumentality for purely selfish or vicious indulgence, then both personal will and parental authority should intervene and raise up a barrier of defence and reasonable control. The radio may furnish the family with choice music of a high order, with healthy home songs, sad or gay, and from the best masters and exponents of both; but with sad lack of discrimination, it intersperses therewith floods of insipidity, irreverence, and salaciousness which should never be admitted to any family. Besides, these themes are provided mostly from foreign sources, and are tinged and saturated with foreign influences and propaganda, which are not helpful in forming proper ideals of Canadian citizenship and nationality. Then again, the ever-ready radio is the enemy of self-depen-

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dence and self-development of natural and healthy home amusements and the cultivation of home talents and activity in that direction. Here also the craze should be combated, reasonable control should assert itself, and a wise but firm censorship be exercised by parental heads and social authorities.

But it is in the cinema and picture-houses that the destructive element seeks its chosen field of operation, and there its debasing influence finds full opportunity. The utterly frivolous, the extravagantly emotional, the bold featuring of vicious heroes and heroines, the exposition of sex problems, the salacious suggestions, the more or less open blasphemy and irreverent treatment of things sacred, little by little sap the self-respect of adults, and sear the sensitive conscience, and blur the pure instincts and aspirations of the young, Mingled with these are uplifting and instructive and entirely unobjectionable productions, and many producers by their own choice and the help of the censor keep their exhibitions on a high level. But many, many more pander to grosser tastes; censorship is often blind of one eye, and the multitudes tend towards these lower types.

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And here again the sources of production are almost wholly outside our own country. and the productions themselves are saturated with a subtle propaganda which persistently undermines Canadian ideals and exalts to extravagance foreign features and personalities. Against this in the interest of future Canadian citizenship, of the Canadian family, and Canadian nationality, the whole force of correct Canadian sentiment and united Canadian public and official influence should be aroused and maintained.

And now let me turn to you, my indulgent, and, I trust, sympathetic auditors, for my closing appeal. Young, ardent, and hopeful, you are passing through the half-way house of this educational Institution, between the old home and narrower world where you were nurtured, to the wider world in which you are soon to take your places and build new homes for yourselves and your children. For one or another reason you form a part of the enviable fractional few selected from the many youth of this Province who enjoy the privilege of an advanced education. This high privilege brings with it added responsibility, for where much is given, much is required. With added

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years of study and research, with enlarged mental and moral equipment, with broader based foundations, and strengthened vision, your capacity for service is multiplied, and your obligations proportionately increased. All this emphasizes your position, attaches duties of service and entails trusteeship. Our civilization is a growth, a development in which the present generation links the past to the future, receives the heritage of the past, administers it in trust, enjoys the usufruct, and is then to hand it on to the next generation unimpaired and improved. The present generation cannot scrap the past or ignore it, any more than it can create the future or escape it. Its perfect work is only possible in proportion as it studies the past, notes its processes and achievements, and fits these into the changing conditions of the present.

All the achievements of to-day, which constitute our sum total of human progress have their roots in the past, often dim and far distant. There long ago their seeds were planted, there for long ages their growth has been nurtured. There they suffered setbacks and scored advances in the varied experimentation to which they were subjected.

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What we have to-day, still imperfect, is the resultant of tests and trial by the men who have preceded us. The material, the intellectual, the scientific, the institutional, the social and spiritual resources and possessions we have to-day, and of which we are proud, have all followed this process, are all the embodiments of the struggle and labours of men like unto ourselves, hammered out on the anvil of human contests and experiences.

In the face of this great outstanding fact how vapid and unthoughtful is the expression, often heard and more often implied in action, that the past has little or nothing to do with us or we with it, that the present and the modern are all-sufficient, and that we must busy ourselves alone with these. Contempt or lack of appreciation of the past is the certain mark of the shallow brain or the immature mentality. It is not an indication of superior ability or courageous thinking. With reverent minds and assiduous attention let us enter the vast store-house of human achievement embalmed in the imperishable record of tradition and history, and there learn the precious lessons of the past, whose creation we are and whose devoted students we should become.

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Only thus shall we understand the present and fit ourselves for accordant and effective work in the future. Individuals we have in plenty; individualism is not so common and more of it we sorely need. The individual is the constant and indispensable unit of all our institutions: Family, Church, Society and the State. On the all-around efficiency of this unit all progress and permanency depend. Towards making this unit as nearly as possible one hundred per cent. efficient, all our efforts must be directed, and for this the Family, the Church and the State with all its institutions, exist and operate. It is important therefore to have a correct and clear idea of what efficiency means. There is the efficiency of the machine, the ability to do what it is designed to perform. The design must first be clear, the construction is to follow and effect the purpose. In the efficiency of the human unit the ideal comes first, the means by which it is to be attained must be adapted to that end. A vital question, therefore, for each one is, what is the purpose, the plan, the ideal of his life.

The human unit is complex. It possesses a body with various qualities, senses or facul-

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ties, an intellect, emotions, passions, impulses, aspirations, imagination, memory, but enthroned somewhere amidst all these should be *You, Yourself*,—the chief and head of this wondrous, personal republic. There is or should be a captain on the bridge of your life barque, so laden with precious cargo on the one and only voyage possible for you. Otherwise anarchy will result, as each one of the complex crew in turn takes command and fights for supremacy, and your course will be erratic, and your barque may never enter port.

This controlling *ego* or *personality* should be the supreme quest of the individual, tirelessly pursued and steadily maintained. And so I counsel you to covet and achieve self-control—personality—character—to be a wise master and mistress in your own house, to say who shall enter and who stay out. When evil would seek admittance resist the least first tendency to parley with it, the first weak acquiescence in suggestions that your better self repels the instant they are made, the first seductions of environments that your spiritual sense primarily reacts against, and above all listen intently for and implicitly

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obey that inward monitor—conscience—which bids you to walk uprightly, and which, as it is heeded, strengthens your will and points your way ever more clearly as you listen and obey.

God has not left you without an inward sense, which represents His Will in you, and which has been strengthened and reinforced by parental and spiritual influences. However implanted it is immanent in each child of humanity, often almost indiscernible and weak to a degree, but still there, amenable to cultivation and quick to respond. Be yourself and shun the herd influence, the urge of the mass. Cultivate your individual will in humility, in sober thoughtfulness, in deep searching after the right and true, in firm convictions founded on study and meditation and converse with the best in men and books, and always in obedience to that inner Will which registers the Will of God within you.

The first denial of one's better self, the first lapse from what conscience tells one is right is the fateful moment in one's life. One always knows when that occurs by the repulsion, the shame, the pain, the quick remorse which follow. If then and there one listens and obeys, and reacts to the right,

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one is safe. If he refuses and weakens and again disobeys he may be reminded to seventy times seven, but each failure to react makes him weaker and brings his ultimate downfall nearer.

Alas! and alack! that we should so much neglect to commune with the nobler and Divine self within us and obey its impulses and warnings!

In this steady governance of our complex nature, this regal mastership of self, this individual personality—this emergence and maintenance of character, lies the whole secret of success as against failure, of achievement against barrenness of result, of the dignity, the nobility and the fair fruitage of life. Again I counsel you above all else win the possession of wise mastership, and wield it royally in the domain of your own complex life.

If then, in your passage through this University, in addition to knowledge gained, you have won mastership and control of yourselves and laid firm the foundations of personality and character, you go out into your life-work well furnished and equipped. The world in which you move will expect much

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from you and you must measure up to this expectation. There is more for you to do than to pursue and achieve personal success. Leadership is the great need of our day and generation. Our primary and fundamental institutions, the Family and School, the Church and the State, in all their varied functions, are calling for capacity, character and service. The tides of selfishness, of materialism, of pleasure-seeking and money-getting rise high and beat incessantly upon the barriers which mark the old defences of homely virtues, of spiritual development, of mutual helpfulness and honest dealing.

To whom, in preference to such as you, should we look for leadership in unselfish service, for the champions of virtue and right, for the watchmen on the walls who shall warn of the hostile approach and sound the clarion call for defence? And I am persuaded we shall not look to you in vain.

THE SECOND LECTURE



LAST night I sought to challenge your attention to two great fundamental and persistent institutions of society, the Family and the Church. To-night I summon you to a consideration of the third and no less important human institution—the State.

If I were to put to each of you the point-blank question—How many hours of your lifetime, long or short, have you devoted to the study and consideration of this vital institution?—you would have, I fear, but sorry and inadequate answers to give me.

And yet it is an essential institution of civilization, coeval with organized human development.

First emerges the individual human being, struggling to gain a footing and maintain his existence amidst the wild forces and elements of nature, and gradually subduing them to his use. Next appears the family and its

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later extensions along the lines of educational and religious development in the School and the Church. Then follows the State which stabilizes, co-ordinates, fosters and protects all these and gives them warrant and security of function.

Think for a moment of what the State stands for. It guarantees your liberty of movement, of thought and expression, of association and enterprise, of production and distribution, of communication and transport, and secures to you the enjoyment of your rights and possessions and the fruits of your lawful labour. It enacts and enforces the laws which regulate social and business conduct and relations, individual and corporate. It touches and guards every interest of every individual in one form or another, and virtually guarantees and maintains the whole framework of our social and national greatness. The authority and protection of the State underlies and surrounds and preserves all our institutions and interests. Abolish the State and its functions and immediately social chaos and relapse to barbarism would result.

It is a common fault to consider the State as something apart from, and of little interest

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to, ourselves, and it is therefore necessary to insist sharply upon the fundamental fact that in democratic countries the State is ourselves. True it has come to us out of the ages past, an embodiment of the conscience and experience of countless generations of men striving to achieve the best in principle and method. We inherit it and modify it to suit our particular circumstances and needs, and are responsible for maintaining the force and vitality of the whole.

It is our general failing also to regard mainly the paraphernalia and external trappings of the State, its legislators, its administrators and its parties, and to pay scant attention to its fundamental and vital principles and functions. And so for one or the other or for both these reasons, the trivial and contingent usurp the place of the essential, politics supplant statesmanship, the State suffers violence and tends to decay, and we—its constituents and guardians—neglect to keep burning the live coals on the inner altars.

I call you to bear on your mind and consciences that the State is essential to our civilization and all that it holds for us, that you, the individuals of our nation, constitute

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and make up the State, and that your first and great duty is to understand your relations to it, and then to give it willing and wise sacrifice and service. It is folly to think that the individual, the family, the school and the Church can be at their best without the power and daily functioning of the State, or can exist without its wise and constant ministrations.

With these preliminary remarks, I propose to draw your attention briefly to the story of our own Canadian nation as the best medium of conveying to you in concrete form my conceptions of the great mission of the State, the high privilege which is ours to participate in its upbuilding, and the sacred and bounden duty of trusteeship therein, which rests upon each one of us.

One hundred and sixty-seven years ago this country, which we now call Canada, passed by conquest and settlement under British control and has since remained, without successful challenge, a part of the British Empire.

About half that many years ago there began a series of changes, one succeeding another at irregular intervals, which have materially altered its constitutional and political relations

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to the mother country. Yet so quietly in the main have these changes been effected that their full significance is only seen when we mass together and contrast sharply the old conditions with those of the present.

Then we had the complete dominancy of the Colonial Office, the absolute control of the Military Governors, the utter absence of any measure of self-government, and the prevailing doctrine that Colonies and Colonials existed for the glory and enrichment of the Motherland.

The events of 1837 and the subsequent investigation and report of Lord Durham resulted in the granting of Responsible Government, followed by complete Parliamentary institutions, by judicial and fiscal autonomy, the right to impose our own taxes, spend our own revenues and direct our own development.

Then came the movement for the Union of the widely separated and disjointed colonies, at the basis of which was the growing perception of great possibilities and the inner will towards Nationhood, and the outward pressure of possible absorption by the great Republic to the South. The result was the Confedera-

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tion of four provinces in 1867, the purchase of the vast western possessions of the Hudson Bay Company in 1868, followed by the formation of the Province of Manitoba, the adhesion of British Columbia in 1871 and of Prince Edward Island in 1873. Later the two provinces of Saskatchewan and Alberta were established, and territorial Confederation for the time being was completed.

Confederation confirmed and strengthened for the Dominion all the rights and powers which had been gained by the colonies as separate entities. But its wider areas, its increased population, the development of its vast resources, and the new breath of National life which inspired it, created wider horizons and invoked increased powers. So to the rights of domestic fiscal legislation and administration was added first the right of choice as to our inclusion in Treaties made by Great Britain with foreign countries, then the right of representation and voice in the negotiations of such treaties, and finally practical autonomy in the negotiation of Treaties with foreign countries in so far as they affect solely Canadian interests.

Under arrangements made with the con-

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currence and co-operation of the British Colonial and Foreign Departments, Canada established her commercial agents or Trade Commissioners in all British and foreign countries, who promote, under British protection and prestige, the multiplied and important trade interests of the Dominion. Colonial Conferences instituted in 1887, and embracing representatives of Overseas Dominions, have met at stated intervals, under the Chairmanship of the Colonial Secretary of State, and discussed the mutual interests of the Dominions and the Mother Country. And in 1907, these graduated into Imperial Conferences, where Premiers meet Premiers on terms of equality and consider the most intimate affairs of the Empire.

Then came the Great War in which Canada took so prominent a part, and in which all the Overseas Dominions became partners in Council, as well as comrades on the battlefield.

Following the War the Peace Conference met in Paris, and in this Conference and in its deliberations and decisions Canada, and the other Overseas Dominions, were given National Status on a perfect equality with

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the Allied Nations. Finally in the Constitution of the League of Nations, Canada's place and status, her rights and privileges are made exactly the same as those of the family of nations which make up the membership of that great World Institution. And finally, since the War, by an arrangement made with the British Government, Canada has been given the right to send a representative to Washington with ambassadorial rank and full powers in all matters which concern Canada and the United States alone; and such representative, in the absence of the British Ambassador at Washington, may take charge of the Embassy and act for the British Government. So far the Canadian Government has not made an appointment, nor has any other Dominion shown any desire to take advantage of the arrangement, except the Irish Free State, whose representative is now established and carrying on in Washington.

This brief review enables us by contrast to grasp the immense significance and extent of the changes which have taken place without violent clash or contest, quietly and to most of the Canadian public without any adequate consciousness of what has taken place.

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All the old political ties that bound the colonies to the home land have, one by one, loosened and dropped until at present only two remain. One is the right of appeal to the Highest Judicial Court of the Empire, which emphasizes and maintains the unity and continuity of our system of world-wide British Jurisprudence, and ensures for the humblest citizen of the Empire access to its highest Court of Justice. Here and there, now and then, a voice is raised questioning the advisability of retaining that tie, but I trust we may think long and ponder deeply before we sever this distinguishing and important link of Empire.

The other and predominant tie is the possession of a common King, Sovereign in every part of the Empire, continuing and subject to no change of party or policy, the enduring symbol of Supreme Authority, the centre about which cluster all the traditions and achievements, and institutions of Empire, the glories of its past and the hopes of its future.

Many Governments and various systems of administration run current in our wide Empire, under which are enjoyed all degrees of autonomy and are exercised such forms

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of governmental action as are adapted to the varying conditions and developments of its diverse peoples; but in all these authority is reposed in and emanates from the Common Sovereign in whose name the works of peace and war alike derive their warrant.

Some over-enthusiastic lovers of democracy have now and then expressed the wish that Great Britain might forego the monarchical form of Government, establish a republic and elect its Executive head. But such surely could never have given thought to the diversity of peoples that make up the Empire and the wide differences in race, religion, social development and modes of thought which characterize them. They grade from the near barbarian to the highly civilized, with minds and morals cast in both Oriental and Western moulds, in all stages and degrees of dependence upon Government and authority. On all these the stability and continuity of Sovereignty impresses itself and imposes obedience, in all inspires loyalty.

Replace this with a name and headship, which has to be explained, changing from year to year as parties change, without traditions and age-long sanctions, and to hundreds

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of millions of British Subjects you would present a mystery or a myth fatal alike to their national allegiance and their personal loyalty. The British Sovereign they know and acknowledge, but who is Lloyd George, or Ramsay MacDonald or Stanley Baldwin? For ages the former has given them justice and protection, what are they to expect from these unknowns, passing paladins of a day?

Even to those Dominions most highly developed the replacement of a sovereign acknowledged by all, by a Headman developed from a heated atmosphere of fierce party warfare, and at best the choice of a majority, and a continuous subject of adverse criticism and partisan attack, would at once lower the now lofty ideal of impartial Kingship, and practically remove the steadying and preservative influences that centre about the *Crown* of a thousand years of tradition and history. The immediate loosening of the ties of Empire, with chaos for the most populous and less advanced, and possible falling asunder for the others, would inevitably result. We must keep the link of Common Kingship, or lose the Unity and Permanence of the British Empire.

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We have come now to the point where all political and constitutional links, between the Overseas Dominions and the Mother Country have been successively severed except these two, the right of appeal to the Highest Court in the Empire, and a Common Sovereignty, and even these we are absolutely free to sever the moment we elect to do so. And we have come thus far gradually, almost insensibly to the mass of our people, without formal agitation, or set propaganda, or fierce political struggle, or threats of armed force. We have, in fact, simply drifted along with the tide of gradual growth and evolution, until we find ourselves in possession of a complete autonomy, undisputed masters of our own destiny, and endowed with an acknowledged national status, and quasi-sovereign powers within the Empire to which we belong.

These added rights and powers we prize. They are evidences of our growth and development, prophetic of our future progress, and they minister to a just and legitimate national pride. We do not propose to abate one jot or tittle of our constitutional possessions and powers; if anything, we wish to consolidate and strengthen them.

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But to my mind we have reached the danger point, where we as a people must stop, look, listen, where we must cease to drift, and begin to ponder deeply and seriously on the future course to be set by our Ship of State. And that course should not be left to the chances of the winds and tides of circumstance, but should be determined by convictions based on serious and profound consideration. And it is just at this point that I challenge the attention of my auditors—the youth of this university—to our national situation and its perils, just as in my preceding lecture I challenged their attention to the situation and perils of the great sister institutions, the Family and the Church. And in this, as in these others, I appeal to them for careful thought, and for loyal and high action in their country's behalf.

The thought has doubtless occurred to you as I have talked to you of these loosening and falling ties, and of their gradual disappearance until but two remain, as to whether this does not presage the loss of all and the ultimate break-up of the Empire to which we belong. The response to that thought will be given according to the disposition of the respondent.

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If he belongs to those few, I believe, among us, who wish for that final culmination, he hails with delight the coming of the end and counts these successive advances as unerring evidences thereof. I look upon them, however, not as symptoms of disintegration, but rather as the gradual steps in an orderly development and a necessary evolution,—the flower and fruitage of the seeds of liberty and justice long since sown. As territories enlarged, as populations increased and resources were developed, as institutions, social, economic and national, grew and multiplied, political and constitutional changes logically and necessarily followed under free and enlightened Government, and that they have so developed in the main without strife and bloodshed is high testimony to the innate common sense and wisdom of the British race.

But again I insist that, having come thus far, we have reached the danger point, where drifting may be fatal, and where careful thought and wise decision as to our next step are vital. And the trouble is that, as a people, we Canadians are not thinking nationally and positively, are leaving too much to chance, and are drifting instead of directing a steady

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course. We may be Canadians in the Empire simply from accident of birth or circumstances, uninformed, indifferent, passive and non-co-operative; or we may be in the Empire and of the Empire from conviction, informed as to its basic significance, interested and actively co-operative in its political welfare and continuity, and alive to all its intrinsic benefits and advantages.

I mentioned a moment ago that the latest extension of rights was the arrangement made with the mother country by which Canada and the other Dominions should be granted ambassadorial powers at foreign Courts, and it was in respect of that extension that I made the remark that we had reached the danger point, and should now stop, look and listen. Ambassadorial powers are the *indicia* of absolute sovereignty, and Canada, though having a quasi-national status, is not a sovereign power. To attribute to her a specific and vital quality of a Sovereignty she does not possess is not logical, and her exercise of it may force the ultimate assumption of the essential entity itself, and that means the break-up of the British Empire. And it does not materially modify the situation to say that the arrange-

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ment made grants ambassadorial powers only in respect of matters and interests solely Canadian. In these days of intimate world relations it is very difficult to define the line that segregates Canadian interests from the interests of other parts of the Empire in relations proposed to be entered into by Canada with a foreign power. The seeds of dispute and contention are easily sown in such soil, and it is only a question of time and circumstance when they may develop into a situation which can have only one ending,—entire separation from the Empire and absolute sovereignty for Canada.

Canada can have that sovereignty whenever she wishes to assume it. But before she takes that step the Canadian people should seriously ponder so vital and all important a subject.

A moment now to discuss the question as to the degree and quality of Canada's National consciousness.

Certain it is that previous to Confederation, Canada possessed none. There had existed here and there among men of vision, aspirations thereto, but all horizons then were narrow and limited by provincial barriers. A few

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hours' travel would bring the citizen of one province to the Customs line of another constitutional entity, where his political currency was not legal tender, where his rights and interests of citizenship were not recognized.

But with Confederation all this changed. Customs lines were extended east and west to the two oceans, and south and north to the forty-ninth parallel of latitude and the polar seas. Our national horizons lifted and widened by thousands of miles. Vast distances, and all within them,—rivers and lakes, low hills and towering, snow-topped mountain-ranges, the revealed and hidden wealth of forests and mines, of fisheries and boundless arable lands,—became at once the possession, the heritage and the trust of all. Our banks, our commercial houses, our institutions, our legislation, our educational, religious and philanthropic bodies became nationalized in effort and in sympathetic co-operation. Lines of transport and communication overleaped provincial boundaries and soon linked province to province and ocean to ocean and bore our products and our people to and fro in ceaseless interchange. And so National Consciousness

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came to the birth, quickened the pulses, and enlarged the vision of our people.

But National Consciousness, though brought to the birth by the Compact of Confederation, needed for its growth more than the Constitution and framework of nationality. It needed achievement, the evidences of development, the knowledge of things done, and the sense of capacity to do them, and these it has not lacked in rich abundance.

Stand for a moment with me in the foreground of 1867, beside that wonderful band of men known as the Fathers and Founders of Confederation. Contemplate the problem before them and the want of equipment for its solution. They had wide vision, high courage, the will to do, but practically nought else except their bare hands. Before them stretched almost half a continent to be organized, equipped and settled, with a working basis of only three millions of a population, hardy and industrious, but possessed of no great wealth. They had few ports and these poorly equipped, and no great through lines of land transport, while between them and the Pacific there lay, first a thousand miles of rocky and uncultivable country, and then

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a vast unknown, unorganized and uninhabited territory, rising towards the Pacific into seemingly impassable mountains—range on range—and all to be faced with limited financial resources, and no established national credit. Well might the stoutest heart have quailed before the great adventure.

Now contemplate the situation from the standpoint of 1926. What magician has been at work? Long, level bands of steel gleam and glisten from Halifax and St. John and Quebec to Vancouver and Prince Rupert, sweep around the lake heads, cross the level prairies, climb and penetrate the Rockies, and night and day, summer and winter, creak and clank beneath swift palatial passenger trains, and long lines of freight cars filled with native products and foreign commercial exchanges.

On either ocean are well developed and efficiently equipped modern ports, out of and into which great Canadian and foreign steamships ply from every country in the World. The then unorganized and unpopulated West now includes three great thriving provinces with a population of 2,000,000 souls, and possesses a producing agricultural capacity which enables Canada to take her place to-day as

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the second-greatest wheat-grower and the largest wheat-exporter in the World. Research and development have brought our mineral production to the point that places us third and fourth respectively among the gold and silver producing nations, and assures us of coal resources ranking only third from the first. Among the instrumentalities of production note our water powers, then undeveloped, now harnessed from ocean to ocean, yielding an energy of 4,300,000 H.P., second only to that developed by the United States. Our industries are turning out products to the value of \$1,300,000,000 yearly, our foreign trade has grown from \$150,000,000 to \$2,350,000,000. Our gross agricultural production has reached \$1,700,000,000, and our population is now 10,000,000 instead of 3,000,000. Nor is the contrast less striking in the development of our educational, religious and social institutions, and in the application of science and invention to the comfort and convenience of life.

In very fact we can state that there is no instance in history of the same number of people in an equal period of time having

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placed to their credit so proud a record of achievement.

On this achievement the national consciousness has grown. We have the evidences of accomplishment, and the sense of capability.

Let us now examine briefly, first the basic elements of our National life, and then the extrinsic forces that influence and modify it.

Two great races have contributed the basic and preponderating elements of our Canadian nation, the British and the French. For 1500 years the British race was developing its ultimate type as ancient Briton, Roman, Saxon, Dane and Norman intermingled in the changing phases of war and peace, fought and finally fused into one people. With no less diversity of racial elements, and in no shorter time did the French race achieve its fused and settled racial formation.

Thereafter both turned to world adventure and became competitors with each other in colonization and conquest in every quarter of the world. In the newly discovered North American Continent, they practically monopolized the exploration and colonization of all that vast territory from Hudson Bay to the Gulf of Mexico, and from the Mississippi and

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head of the Great Lakes to the Atlantic. And in all this area the fortunes of war finally favoured the British; whilst wise and liberal treatment have since made fast friends and fellow-citizens of former competitors and combatants.

In Canada for 167 years their descendants have lived side by side in peace and friendship, loyal to the same sovereign, protected by the same laws, attached to the same institutions, citizens of a common country, which both equally love, and for the prosperity and permanence of which both work in unison.

The descendants of these two great races have increased and multiplied, transmitting from generation to generation their physical characteristics, their intellectual and spiritual qualities and endowments, their temperamental and ethical qualities. Constituting in 1759 practically the whole of our population, they still, by propagation and continuous accessions of immigration, possess the preponderating majority, dominate Canadian thought, direct its activities and determine its cultural development.

Joined to this primary endowment and these yearly additions of racial and ethical

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elements there has been a continuous flow of cultural influences from the same sources which have nourished and strengthened and implemented these elements. The memories, traditions and history of the mother land, the permeating influence of its institutions, the charm of its literature, the beauties of its art, the achievements of its science and the record of its progress have all been powerful to sustain sentiment and inspire action. Economic and financial influences have tended in the same way to reinforce the basic racial elements. Business and commercial transactions, small at first, have grown apace, until now Great Britain absorbs the greater part of our exports and sends us increasingly large quantities of her manufactured goods. Up to the Great War nearly all our borrowings were made in Britain. This mutual interest in finance and trade tended greatly to strengthen the ties of race. As Canada grew and her immense resources, especially in new lands, became known, immigrants came in increasing numbers, few from France, many from Great Britain and the United States, and many also from other foreign countries. Those that came from Great Britain and the

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United States added to the basic British elements of our nationality, whilst those from other foreign countries introduced racial, ethical and political elements less congenial or distinctly antagonistic. These tend in the first generation to confuse and modify the precedent ideals by the impact and infusion of different social, religious and political cultures but diminish in influence as the succeeding generations grow up in association with the preponderating majority. But it is also probable that this modifying influence will become stronger as the number of foreign immigrants relatively increase, and it must be reckoned with in the moulding and working out of our national life.

The third influence that affects our national life comes from a nearer and more powerful environment.

To the south of us lies the United States—a kindred people 120,000,000 in number, speaking the same language, and having in the main the same ideals. Its developed resources are enormous, its business immense in volume and value, its industries developed on a world scale and diversified to a degree. It presents unique and varied opportunities

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for employment at good wages, for business engagements and investments of all kinds, and opens a wide field for literary, scientific, educational and professional work.

Like a great magnet, three thousand five hundred miles in length and with a depth varying from hundreds to thousands of miles, it lies across our southern threshold with its constant and powerful attraction. Going across the line a Canadian encounters few difficulties of language, customs, laws or modes of living—all seem very like to those at home. He is welcomed with the kindest spirit and the best of good will.

The United States got its start in development and world advertisement nearly a hundred years before Canada existed as a Dominion, and began actively to make the acquaintance of other world peoples. Ever since, this magnet has been separating particles from our side of the line, individuals, parts of families and whole families, and attaching them to itself. It is doing so now, and will long continue to do so on a considerable but constantly diminishing scale as Canada increases in population and develop-

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ment and gradually sets up a countervailing attraction on her side of the line.

But the United States not only acts as a fixed magnet to draw from us, it plays a more important part in what may be called the peaceful penetration of our country, an unorganized but tireless, persuasive and skilful evangelism, which silently but effectively permeates every part of our country and magnifies the traditions and history, the excellencies, the advantages, the greatness and the glories of that particular country. United States capital and captains of industries invest millions of money in exploiting our resources, acquiring going industries, developing great productive works, and conducting expensive and wide research for hitherto hidden resources, and thus throw a network of business connections and affiliations over the whole country.

But attractive and seductive as is this business envelopment it is not to be compared for a moment with what we call the publicity propaganda which reaches all classes and all communities. Its purveyors and media of transmission, are the magazine, the serial, the newspaper, the cinema and the radio.

Into Canada came in 1925, over three

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hundred different United States magazines and publications, whose distributed copies numbered 40,000,000, and in addition week-end, Sunday and daily newspapers with their circulation of 20,000,000 copies. That means that by our ten millions of Canadians sixty million copies of United States publications were read, each one saturated with the distinctive flavor and spirit of the traditions, the history, the politics, the current doings, the social happenings, the personalities that cross the stage from the President at the White House and the Bishop in the Cathedral to the latest successful gunman and burglar and social degenerate, and in which the quality of essential good was materially neutralized by the over-weighting mixture of impiety and salaciousness. Every one of these readings produced an effect on the mind of the reader and influenced to some extent subsequent thought and conduct. Leaving aside for the moment the moral and mental quality of the pabulum furnished it is safe to say that it contributed little or nothing to build up in our Canadian citizenship a love for and a knowledge of our Canadian traditions and history, or teach the story of its wonderful develop-

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ment, the foundation and growth of its institutions, and the achievements of its great men or its distinctive ideals.

The mass effect of all this flood of reading matter has been to exalt the advantages and excellences and wonderful achievements of the foreign country and to dwarf and obscure the Canadian ideal.

In the cinema and the radio the eye and the ear are appealed to, and again we find a background which is distinctly un-Canadian. In 1925 of all the picture films shown in Ontario 90 per cent. were of United States origin with the distinctive setting and flavor of that nationality and with an utter absence of Canadian texture. The scenes, the characters, the faces, the incidents, the sentiment and the general effect were all of the United States and intended to exalt and magnify that nationality. In Ontario alone in 1925 fifty-seven million, mostly young people, sat before those picture films and took their impressions from them.

In the whole of Canada in that one year three million individual people weekly visited the motion-picture theatres, and were subject to the ministrations of this un-Canadian propaganda. That is not a healthful asso-

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ciation for the inspiration and strengthening of a vigorous and progressive Canadian Nationality.

Let no one think that in pointing these things out I am antagonistic to our neighbours on the south of the line, or seek to raise obstructions to our future friendly relationships. On the contrary no one has noted with greater satisfaction the change of feeling that has taken place between these two countries in the last fifty years, until to-day the relations are of the most cordial and happy kind. And no one can more earnestly than I desire their maintenance in the future. But at the same time we have a national home to be strengthened and perpetuated, and it is our duty carefully to watch and zealously to counteract all influences that weaken the growth and permanence of our national heritage.

Three courses are open nationally to Canada.

First, she may seek and find annexation to the United States of America. This alternative it does not seem necessary even to discuss. In earlier days it was seriously considered as a menace by those who feared it, as an advantage by those who saw in it a short cut to

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material prosperity. Confederation, the great development since made, the increasing knowledge of the vastness and richness of our resources, a growing sense of nationhood, and our prominent position in the Empire have banished consideration of this alternative from the minds of practical and sensible Canadians. British Canadians do not want it, French Canadians will not have it, and both racial strains of our young nationality have too great pride in the present, and too high hopes for the future of Canada to commit political suicide on the very threshold of our national existence.

The second alternative is Independence,—the cutting loose from the British Empire and the assumption of complete sovereign power and responsibility for ourselves. There are no indications that at the present this course is being seriously considered by any school of politics or any section of our population. Here and there a voice raises a note of approbation or a pen indites an academic plea in its favour, and in yet other cases it emerges as a possible result in the future stages of our development. Yet the fact that its “will o’ the wisp” light flickers even occasionally in the swamps and

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marshes that border our National highway makes it worthy of some thoughtful consideration, lest it should be mistaken by any for a true guiding light.

Independence involves the breaking of those family ties that have bound us to the Motherland since infancy, and have become continually stronger as we have grown older and come to know each other better. It involves also the surrender of our title to partnership in all that priceless heritage,—the accumulation of nearly two thousand years of struggle and achievement—which we have in the traditions, the history, the literature, the art, the religious, educational and political institutions of the greatest of all Empires in world-history. It would mean shutting the door upon and walking out from that innumerable company of illustrious men and women who in every cycle of our Empire's course have interpreted the life and voiced the ideals which have brought to pass the finest achievements of the human race. The tap root of our national tree which now penetrates the soil of two thousand years and draws impulse and vitality from every stratum would be severed, and its rich service of sustenance be withdrawn. It

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is idle to say that all these would still remain in the world and that we would still have access to them. True, but they would no longer be in our family, nor would our title-deeds to their substance and partnership and heritage any longer run,—a subtle and vital difference, which goes to the innermost depths and sources of national life. Independence assumed by Canada would also vitally affect that most beneficent agency for human good, the British Empire. With the brightest star in the associated constellations removed from its orbit, its brilliancy would be reduced, its prestige diminished, its old potency weakened. The first break would be followed by others, and soon a sun of first magnitude with its galaxy of lesser suns would have disappeared from the heavens. Who can measure the loss? There would no longer be a British Empire. The world of humanity would lose immeasurably and Canada would lose with it. One stands appalled before the chances and changes which would ensue, and searches in vain for solid grounds of justification for taking and incurring responsibility for such a step.

When one asks what Canada would gain

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he is at a loss for a convincing answer. In fact she has all the freedom now that she would have as a sovereign nation except unlimited treaty-making powers, and the right to declare war and pursue it. It is not likely that she would ever use these rights if she had them, inasmuch as she already possesses full treaty-making powers where her own interests solely are involved, and unless attacked she would not wish to engage in war.

The constitutional ties that still bind us to the Empire neither gall nor humiliate us, for we know that the moment we wish to lay them aside instant assent would be given,—with infinite regret but with continuing good will. But in that case we should face burdens and obligations and changed world-conditions, the full consequences of which no man living can foresee, but which the dullest among us must admit to be profoundly serious and disturbing. It is no light matter to break the connections of centuries, and renounce the inspiration, the prestige, the security, the kinship, the co-operation of a Mother Empire and sister nations constituting together an agency for human progress and uplift unique

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in history, whose proud achievements in the past are but an earnest and prophecy of an infinitely more useful and glorious future. To deal the first blow to the solidarity and prestige of that Empire, whose guiding and steadying influence was never more salutary and more vital to the world of humanity as represented in its national relationships, would give impetus to a movement which must greatly diminish the power, and might easily end in the disintegration and dispersion of the most beneficent Empire of all time.

With a weakened British Empire would the healing influences which make for World Peace be strengthened, or would the malign forces that make for strife be unleashed anew to work their will to war?

For ourselves with a small population and a vast wealth of territory and resources, we would at once have to incur the enormous expenditure necessary to preserve our new independence in a national environment freed from the old restraint imposed by the all-powerful protector whom we had abandoned, and to whom in that very act we had dealt a mortal blow.

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These are some but by no means all of the considerations which must be pondered before we choose the path of Canadian Independence.

The third alternative is to continue as we are, an integral part of the British Empire, one of a community of free nations, linked in kinship and ideals, each mistress in her own national home and all under one common sovereign co-operating in counsel and effort for unity and development of the whole. This involves no break in the continuity of growth and environments of our world habitat, with its two thousand years of tradition, of history and of achievement, incalculably rich in moulding and cultural influences, while at the same time it preserves the priceless racial, intellectual, social, institutional and economic connections which, suffused with the warm sympathy of kinship and common ideals and stimulated by a broad patriotic interest and pride, make for the world-wide functioning of the best of all the forces of British Civilization. This keeps us within the orbit of the Empire, assures us of a security and a prestige otherwise unattainable, and gives us the inestimable stimulus of being co-workers in the administration of a world trust

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such as has fallen to no other in the long record of human development.

But as the old constitutional ties drop one by one, we must replace them by new and well-devised political methods, adapted to the changed conditions. Some important steps in this direction have already been taken. The institution of occasional Colonial Conferences in 1887 was the first. In 1907 these graduated into Imperial Conferences, meeting at least every four years, presided over by the Prime Minister of Great Britain and participated in by the Prime Ministers of the Overseas Dominions, assisted by such other members of their Cabinets as they choose to associate with them. And during the War the War Cabinet developed at which the Prime Ministers, or members of their Cabinets, sat with the British Ministers and shaped the conduct of the Great Conflict. At all these Conferences the most intimate affairs and interests of the Empire were exposed and discussed and made common knowledge to all, and plans were devised for mutual co-operation and development. Improved methods of communication between the Home and Dominion Governments were devised,

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the Colonial branch was separated from the Overseas administration which was given greater prominence, and direct communication between Prime Ministers was instituted for the old time filtration through the Colonial office.

These are all to the good, but they do not go far enough. Quadrennial Imperial Conferences are an immense advance on the old system and of prime importance in the dissemination of common agreements and general lines of policy affecting the Empire and its parts. But they do not satisfactorily meet the outstanding question which now dominates Empire relations, namely, the Foreign Policy of the Empire and the participation therein of the Overseas Dominions.

The part taken in the late War by these Dominions, the sacrifices made in money and men, and the consequent burdens entailed, gave rise to the very important question as to what would happen should future wars involve Great Britain. And as such a contingency depends largely on Great Britain's foreign policy what part should the Dominions have in shaping that policy, if they are to be involved in a war arising therefrom? The question is a complex one, but it must be satisfactorily

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met if the Empire is to be preserved. It cannot be evaded and it should not be postponed. Wars may be invited or provoked by certain lines of foreign policy, or they may be entirely unprovoked and purely defensive. The latter, if launched against Great Britain, would doubtless find the Overseas Dominions as willing as in 1914 to make common cause with the Mother Country. But a war of the former class would be differently viewed. In neither would Great Britain for a moment attempt to compel participation, but refusal by an Overseas Dominion to participate would not exempt it from attack by the enemy power. The obvious course, therefore, if the Empire is to preserve its present form, is for Mother Country and Dominions to have common knowledge of Foreign policies, and come to agreement with reference thereto, and then to take common and accordant action. Clearly the Empire must speak, with one voice, diplomatically. You cannot have each component part speaking in a different voice.

The problem is how this common knowledge is to be gained and imparted in so continuous and efficient a way as to ensure unanimity of voice and action.

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Modern methods of communication have vastly simplified the proposition. Prime Ministers and Cabinets of the Empire can now consult each other, voice to voice, if not face to face in their several capitals at any hour of the day, and full information can be made available at all times.

In addition each Dominion should have in London a Minister who in respect to Foreign affairs should be in complete *liaison* with the Prime Minister and the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Great Britain. In this way you would have that mutuality of knowledge and continuity of touch which are essential to agreement and unity of policy. Such a Board of Ministers in London would be most useful also in clarifying and facilitating the many transactions and relationships between the Governments which are constantly increasing and which call for quick administrative action.

Then we should have co-operation in the settlement and development of the unfilled spaces of our vast Empire Estate. Millions of surplus and capable men and women in the British Isles should be settled on the hundreds of millions of unoccupied but productive acres in the Overseas sections of the Empire and

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both Motherland and Overseas Dominions should plan and spend together to effect this object. The former would be thus relieved of the pressing burden of unemployment, and the sad sight of men and women asking for work and finding none, while the latter would achieve the vital result of productive settlement by congenial National elements, and the Empire as a whole would be immeasurably strengthened and benefited.

A beginning has happily been made along this line, and already by financial and administrative co-operation between the British and Overseas Governments, many thousands of settlers of British stock have been placed upon lands overseas. But the movement should be on a large and adequate scale consonant both with the pressing needs and the wide opportunities. It is an economic blunder, a humanitarian mistake and almost an imperial crime to neglect so great and promising an opening. Add to these the transplantation of British Capital for profitable investment in agriculture, fishing, mining and industrial development, and we should eventually achieve the true ideal of a British Citizenship, equal and

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effective and honourable in all parts of the wide-flung Empire.

In the face of these facts what is the duty of Canadians?

1. To preserve and reinforce the basic racial and cultural elements of our national structure. The stock fibre, the characteristics and qualities of race, the wealth of temperament, the clarity and purity of ideals, the will to labour and the passion for enterprise and sane adventure inherent in the British and French races which answer for the achievements of the past, must be depended upon to guarantee the still greater developments of the future. But to fulfil that guarantee they must be protected from deterioration, and continuously reinforced from the same or nearly similar sources. The French are not an emigrating people, but their vigour of propagation and their attachment to the land enables that race to maintain in Canada its proportionate numbers and vitality. The British stock must be added to by well-selected emigrants from Anglo-Saxon sources which happily are large and easily drawn upon. In selecting other emigrants we should choose the stocks most akin in race-characteristics and culture to the

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British, which present the least number of antagonistic qualities and which, therefore, can more readily be merged into the dominant civilization. No desire for mere filling up our vacant spaces should cloud the obvious sanity of demanding quality and assimilating possibilities in preference to mere numbers. The quality of the units of our national structure is all important, and building nationally demands *fitness* and durability of material. And withal, every source of impulse, of inspiration, of favouring influences, of sympathetic and practical co-operation with the people of the Motherland should be kept open, and the channels of communication between them and us be kept clear and flowing. Thus the life blood of common interests and sympathy, of life culture and ideals will feed and vitalize the whole body of our nation.

2. We should set ourselves determinedly and energetically to develop and strengthen our national consciousness and to counteract the insidious and powerful influences that tend to weaken and becloud it.

We have traditions and a history replete with romantic interest and the true heroism of adventure and enterprise, and in which the

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keen quest of gain, the sane joy of conquest over a nature wild, unknown and pitiless, and the burning zeal for Christianizing the pagan blend their colours in a story of surpassing interest. How few of us have read it and taught it to our children! Yet this is a rich background for pride in Country and the nurture of a true and healthy patriotism.

We have, too, the solid elements for building a great national structure. Let us possess ourselves of this knowledge and repeat it to our children.

A natural setting of geography and climate singularly free from malaria, pestilence and violent disturbances, which spurs to activity and discourages sloth and physical laxity, varied with seasonal change and charm that banish monotony and breed continuous expectancy, with infinitely varied physical features—encompassing seas, a wealth of inland waters of impressive grandeur and intimate charm, the breadth of boundless prairies, the majesty of great mountain ranges, the mighty forests that clothe their sides and fringe our plains, the entrancing beauty of our summers and strong, cold silences of our far north—all these are singularly apt for

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nurturing a hardy, enterprising, healthy stock, strong of body, clear of brain and pure of heart.

We are endowed with national resources, rich, varied and of a still unknown magnitude, into whose arcana we are only yet being slowly introduced.

Nature has given us vast supplies of coal East and West, a still more inexhaustible supply of available water power, and excellent prospects of wide and abundant oil production. For motive power, therefore, we are furnished to a degree equalled by few nations and surpassed by none.

Though only on the edge of our mineral developments we are already the third gold-, and the fourth silver-producing country in the world. Our coal measures so far located place us third among the nations; in asbestos we possess 80 per cent. of the known world supply, in nickel 90 per cent. We are rich in copper, iron and lead, and have greater or less supplies of both the rare and useful minerals. Our forest resources are vast and varied, and with careful husbanding and protection from fire will serve for all our future generations. In the manufacture of wood

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pulp and newsprint we are already the greatest producer in the World.

Our agriculture resources are enormous; no country in the world surpasses them in extent. Our human stock does not fear comparison with that of any other country in the World. Our cool, and in some parts rugged, climate tends to harden and sharpen our physical, moral and mental fibre, and equally to discourage the less energetic and more parasitic emigrants from Southern Europe and tropical Countries. The wide spaces, the unequalled sport and playgrounds of Canada, and the wonderful grandeur and variety of its scenery constitute a veritable natural sanatorium, where the strong are made stronger and those who are tired and exhausted with overwork are healed in body and mind. More and more as we grow older, and our social and business activities make deeper drains on our nervous equipment, shall we appreciate what an invaluable national asset we possess in this respect.

Our institutions, social, educational, religious and political, have a quality and spirit peculiarly their own, which reflect the characters and environments of our people, and which

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we should fully appreciate and sturdily maintain. These are not mere replicas of the institutions of our Motherlands, nor are they the synonyms of those of our Cousins to the South of us. Born out of the former and developed alongside the latter, they yet differ from both, for institutions are after all not ordered ready-made from the workshops of other nations, but are the incarnation of the spirit and character and ideals of the people for whom they exist. Models there are wrought out of the experiences of the ages, and we are wise to adopt them, but each people modifies and adapts them to its circumstances and needs.

Then we have the achievements of which I have already spoken and which within the last sixty years have been so outstanding and wonderful. We have demonstrated our will and our power to do things, and so have established a mandate and an impulse to go forward to greater things.

This story of Canada, its traditions, its history, its wonderful resources, its fine achievements, its present status and the wide vision of its future we should study and ponder over, till we become possessed of its

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power and its promise. Then it should be taught at our firesides, in our schools and colleges, in our pulpits, our press and on our platforms. It should run on the films and find place on the radios that attract the eyes and charm the ears of millions of listeners in our theatres and our homes. And joined thereto should be the connected story of the Empire itself, whose offspring and outgrowth we are, whose dearly conquered liberties and rich heritage of achievement we enjoy, and in whose future we desire to be participants and co-workers. These should be symbolized by our flag, and that flag should be in evidence everywhere, saluted in our schools, flung to the air on our public buildings, over our universities, and by our citizens at holiday times and on public occasions. That flag symbolizes the achievements and the institutions of the Empire from which we sprang, our part in its development and upbuilding on this new Continent, and our proud status and equal partnership therein. It should greet the vision and stir the hearts of our children, who succeed to and must administer all the rich heritage which it signalizes.

And now I have come to the end of a task

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undertaken with some misgiving and all too feebly performed, and must say the final words of farewell which are always tinged with a note of sadness.

As I have looked into your young and eager faces I have read there something of the story of all the ages past, something of the prophecy of all the ages yet to be. For in that complex and mysterious entity which each one of you possesses there are incorporated—in body, in mind, and in spirit—elements evolved from the achievements of humanity in every century of its long and toilsome march from barbarism towards the higher levels of civilization. And out from that same mysterious entity these elements, reinforced or weakened by your own life action, must project themselves into and influence humanity in its still long and toilsome march to the ultimate best. So wonderful and yet true it is that each generation receives and records the experience of all past generations, passes it through its own alembic and transmits the product to the next, and so on to all future generations—workers together with all precedent and succeeding humanity. What changes happen in the working crucible of your own lives are

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your contribution to the progress and betterment of the world, add to its refinement and efficiency, or to its hurt and degradation. If to the former, your living has not been in vain, and you have generated and released a vital and continuing beneficent force; if to the latter, you have failed personally, and entailed harm on those who come after you. I beseech you therefore to recognize the wonderful significance of life and to seize the opportunity given you while passing through these halls of instruction to fit yourselves to discharge its high and manifold obligations.

I have talked to you of the great institutions of the Family, the Church and the State, using, to illustrate the latter, the story of our own beloved Canada. To each you owe honest, loyal and unselfish service.

Constitute yourselves, I implore you, true knights and champions in defence of the sacred verities of each, and do valiant and courageous battle against destructive criticism, corroding and sensual materialism, and all false theories of individual liberty, which grow inevitably into devastating and debasing license. Seek the truth and incarnate it in every action of your individual lives. Keep burning the altar

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fires of the Family with its wholesome discipline, its homely pleasures, its pure and healthful influences; cherish your spiritual natures and feed them with private and public religious communion and ministrations; recognize the vital necessity of achieving a strong and well-ordered State in which just laws and respect and obedience for authority shall be the distinguishing features.

Dulce et decorum est pro patria vivere.

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